

Why -skI?

A Study of Verbal Aspect in Conchucos Quechua

Anne M. Stewart

0. Introduction

The verbal suffix -skI of the Conchucos dialect of Ancash Quechua[1] is completely absent in the dialect of neighboring Huaraz. Impressionistically speaking, -skI might be said to "characterize" the Quechua of Conchucos. Although it is beyond the scope of this present paper to determine precisely why -skI is restricted almost exclusively to the Conchucos dialect and neighboring areas,[2] the specific function which -skI performs calls for more precise examination. The claim of this paper is that -skI performs a specific and vital function in the modal-aspectual system of the verb in the Quechua of Conchucos. Moreover, the complex role which -skI plays in this dialect indicates the likelihood of similar complexities in the other Quechua dialects which employ this suffix. Any further insight into this complex system of verbal derivation which all of the Quechua languages share is expedient for adequate analyses of the languages within the Quechua family, and is likely also to provide insights into the verbal morphology of typologically similar languages.

1. About Quechua

Quechua is a language family with a number of members, rather than a single language with a number of dialects. There are approximately six million speakers of these languages, located geographically from Colombia, in the northern portion of South America, to the province of Santiago del Estero, in Argentina, to the south. Quechua is centered along the Andean chain and occurs in adjacent jungle areas, such as the Quechua of the Napo in Ecuador and the Quechua of the Pastaza in Peru.

The Quechua languages have been subclassified by Torero (1964) and Parker (1963) into Quechua I and II and Quechua B and A, respectively. The languages in the I, or B, group differ from the languages in the II, or A, group to roughly the same extent that languages in the Romance family, such as French and Portuguese, or Spanish and Portuguese, differ from one another.

Ancash Quechua belongs to the I, or B, group. Considerable variation exists however, within Ancash itself. With regard to certain phonological features, both the most conservative of the Quechua dialects, that of Sihuas, and the most innovative dialect, that of Huaraz, are reported to be located in Ancash.[3] Thus, within a relatively small geographical area, considerable

linguistic variation has arisen. This variation is typical of the entire Quechua B area, which spans the mountains of central Peru. In Ancash, the Conchucos dialect is considered to be less innovative than the Huaraz dialect, yet by no means as conservative as the Sihuas dialect.

A popular notion in Peru has been that all varieties of Quechua are descended from the Cuzco language spoken by the rulers of the Inca Empire at the height of its power. This was generally accepted as fact until the 1960's, but linguists and scientists have been realizing, especially since studies of the central dialects have been made available, that the approximately thirty dialects of Quechua most likely could not have evolved in the only five centuries separating the Spanish conquest and the present day. The conclusion is that Quechua was spoken in Peru long before the conquest of the Incas and has continued its evolution as a viable language to the present day.

Conchucos Quechua is polysynthetic and agglutinative, and words may be quite long:

- (1) maqa-kU-maa-na-yki-paq (19 phonemes, 5 suffixes)
hit-refl-/1-nml-2P-PUR

'in order for you to hit me'

- (2) reqi-naku-shqa-ntsik-kuna-ta (23 phonemes, 5 suffixes)
know- recip-part-12P-pl-ACC

'(to) all of us that know one another'

The language allows no prefixes, but there are approximately ninety productive suffixes. There is no theoretical maximum number of suffixes that a word may contain, although more than six or seven is infrequent.

The language is characterized also by a total regularity of morphological processes, as in the verb conjugations, and an absence of articles, prepositions, conjunctions (except for Spanish borrowings), and relative pronouns. The predominant word order is a relatively free SOV, with the accompanying ADJ:NOUN sequence. A small lexicon is compensated for by the productive use of the suffixes. Most lexemes can be assigned to either a substantive or a verb class, although there are some "ambivalents" which can belong to either, for example, tsaka 'bridge' and tsakay 'to bridge'. A few particles, such as ama 'prohibitive' and aw 'yes' are assigned to neither class.

2. The Quechua verb

All verb roots and all non-final verb suffixes end in a vowel. Final suffixes can end in either a vowel or a consonant. It is not uncommon for a verb to have such a large number of

derivational and inflectional affixes that it corresponds to an entire English sentence:

- (3) rika-chaka-ykaa-ku-ntsik
see-diffuse-impfv-refl-12

'We are looking all around.'

The order of the derivational suffixes is somewhat free, while the order of the inflectional suffixes is basically fixed. Derivational suffixes must, however, precede the inflectional suffixes:

ROOT DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES

Ancash Quechua has about twenty-five derivational suffixes, almost all of which are completely productive.

Certain suffixes, of which -skI is one, are subject to a phenomenon of vowel modification that occurs when certain other suffixes follow: morphophonemic forelowering. The following formalization is adapted for Ancash Quechua from Weber (1976:79):[4]



SUFFIX FINAL

Few pairs of the derivational suffixes are mutually exclusive or obligatorily co-occurring, thus a high number of combinations is possible. The same suffix may even occur twice on the same verb, although this is rare,[5] and it is possible for no derivational suffix to occur at all. Functions of these affixes include the mapping of mood, aspect, voice, and number. Consider the following likely combinations:

Four Derivational Suffixes:

- (4) Tsay-kuna llapan maytsika runa
that-pl all many person

qori-kU-skI-yaa-mu-r-ni-n-qa...
gather-refl-perf-pl-afar-adv-0-3-TOP

'They all, when all the many people have gathered...'

Three Derivational Suffixes:

- (5) Tsay-mi tsay Shilla Hirka-chaw-qa
that-AFF that Shilla hill-loc-TOP

saachi-ku-ykaa-yaa-raa...
fertilize-refl-impfv-pl-past

'Then on that Shilla Hill we were fertilizing.'

Two Derivational Suffixes:

- (6) Tsay-chaw alli timpu-rkU-tsi-sha-na-m
that-LOC good boil-up-caus-part-now-AFF

maki-ntsik-wan shupra-rkU-ntsik.
hand-12P-COM peel-up-12

'Then when we have boiled it up well, we peel it
with our hands.'

One Derivational Suffix:

- (7) Y tsay-ta-m timpu-tsi-ntsik.
and that-ACC-AFF boil-caus-12

'And we boil that.'

No Derivational Suffix:

- (8) Pay miku-n. 'He/She eats.'
3 eat-3

3. Previous studies of the Quechua derivational suffixes

In recent years, three Quechua linguists in particular have studied the derivational suffixes in Ancash, specifically in Huaraz Quechua: Gary Parker (1973), Germain Swisshelm (1974), and Helen Larsen (1976). In this section, I will briefly review what each of these has to say about them.

Parker (1973:1) defines the "derivational" suffixes in Quechua as "those that appear between the verb root (stem) and the suffixes of tense, subordination, nominalization, and person." In short, the derivational suffixes can loosely be defined as all of those suffixes which occur between the Quechua root and the inflectional suffixes. Parker also refers to them as "deverbative verbalizers," indicating by this terminology that they derive verbs from verbs.

Since -ski does not appear in Huaraz Quechua, Parker makes

only passing mention of its occurrence in the provinces of Eastern Ancash, positing a tentative definition of "resisted action." According to this definition, -skI is in opposition to the suffix -rkU, "unresisted action," in a metaphorical sense. (-rkU is a "directional" affix indicating "up" in its basic meaning but with certain metaphorical submeanings.)

Swisshelm divides the derivational suffixes into two classes arranged by their order of occurrence on the verb. The derivational suffixes are "los sufijos que, agregados a un tema verbal, producen otro verbo, modificando su significado en alguna manera. Puede ocurrir un solo sufijo derivacional o varios de ellos en combinación." (The derivational suffixes are the suffixes which, added to a verb stem, produce another verb, modifying its meaning in some way. One derivational suffix may occur or several in combination.) Swisshelm's descriptive analysis of each of the derivational suffixes is thorough, especially regarding co-occurrence restrictions. His approach highlights a tendency for the more "influential" suffixes, that is, the suffixes most likely to alter significantly the meaning of the verb itself, to occur closer, if not adjacent to, the verb root. In some instances, he indicates, the suffix has become so closely allied with the verb root that the form has become frozen to the root, which can then no longer appear unaccompanied:

- (9) sha - mu - y -----> shamu -y
move-to:here-imp come-imp
- (10) *shay

Swisshelm's analysis does not, however, capture generalizations about the interrelated behavior of the suffixes. He tells us what happens, but he does not tell us why this might be the case. Moreover, since, as with Parker, his study is restricted to the Quechua of the Huaraz area, -skI is not analyzed.

Larsen follows a structuralist approach similar to Swisshelm's, similarly rich in data but lean on explanation. An insightful observation in her paper is that the derivational suffixes function on more than one level in the discourse (1976:35). She concludes that her study demonstrates that each of the derivational suffixes has a function at two levels: the first is the clause, and the other, the discourse. The precise nature of the functions she is referring to is not entirely clear from the study, however, the relevance of the larger context to the particular occurrences of the suffixes is worth bearing in mind for the purpose of analyzing -skI, which, again, Larsen does not mention in her study.

4. Previous analyses of -skI: a 'modal' suffix

Parker (1973), as mentioned above, analyzed -skI as denoting "resisted action" by the subject or by the object. This included

also the notion of urgency or unexpected action, and the further expectation that, if -skI and -rkU were to be interchanged in the same verb, the form with -skI would always indicate greater speed, less facility, and less sociability. Parker felt that -skI needed to be studied by comparing its use with the uses of other derivational suffixes, especially -rkU and -ykU, which have "modal" functions of a comparable degree of abstraction. The term "modal" is not clearly defined, nor is the analysis of -skI defended on anything but conjectural grounds.

Snow (1972) is the one paper devoted exclusively to the "modal" suffix -skI in Ancash Quechua.[6] He quotes Torero's statement that -skI "expresa más bien la acción consumada o, con formas de imperativo, la urgencia de realizar la acción." (expresses, rather, consummated action, or, with imperative forms, the urgency of realizing the action). Snow also cites Sola's label for -skI as "directive," indicating that "la acción tiene un objeto o meta." (the action has an object or goal.) Snow's own analysis is that "a verb occurring with -skI refers to an activity or state of affairs which is unanticipated and/or affective." (1972:17) "Nevertheless," he adds, "it is the element of surprise conveyed by -skI which predominates," (23) and "extralinguistic contextual factors play an important role in the linguistic usage of the modal suffix -skI." (26) Snow calls to attention the fact that -skI and the imperfective affix -ykaa are mutually exclusive, but his analysis of -skI is basically a subjective one in which the possible grammatical functions of aspect and modality are not explored.

Weber (1976) also refers to a subset of derivational suffixes designated as "modals." "Modal refers to a class of suffixes which occur close to the verb stems and change the meaning of the stems in temptingly predictable (but ultimately unpredictable) ways." (96) For each of these suffixes, a directional meaning is posited which survives only in certain isolated forms. In their present-day productive usages they vary considerably from those basic meanings; sometimes these are predictable "metaphorical" uses as mentioned by Parker, other times they defy precise explanation. The modal suffixes common to most dialects of Quechua I, or B, are:

Modal	Dir.	Meaning	Ex:Dir.Use	Ex:Extended Use
-ykU	in		yaykuy 'to enter'	hitaykuy 'to throw w/force'
-rkU	up		warkuy 'to hang up'	mikurkuy 'to eat up'
-rpU	down		yarpuy 'to go down'	wiñarpuy 'to pour'
-rqU	out		yarquy 'to go out'	qarquy 'to kick'

Weber's characterization of the "modal" suffixes is the clearest to date. Although a specific directional meaning cannot be posited for -skI in the same way as for the other suffixes in the group, its occurrence close to the verb stem and its unpredictable behavior seem to be sufficient reason for including it in the class of "modal" suffixes. However, the fact that this

is then the only "modal" suffix for which a more basic (directional) meaning has not been posited leads us to suspect that a more precise, basic meaning, even if not a directional one, could be posited for -skI. -SkI has thus far been given convenient, somewhat impressionistic labels. These labels ameliorate perhaps the potential difficulties caused by not having any definition at all for -skI, but they do not adequately define the suffix. One suspects that, even with the given directional meanings, similar situations exist for the other "modal" suffixes as well. What is needed for our present purposes, however, is a clear testable hypothesis for -skI in Conchucos Quechua.

5. What is modal?

Longacre (1976) defines modalities as "the expression of desire/intent, obligation/necessity, and ability...the special desiderative or intensive forms of verbs." Since this definition allows for "special desiderative or intensive forms of verbs," it is broad enough to encompass the class of so-called "modal" suffixes in Quechua. The requisite broadness of this definition, however, highlights the necessity of pinpointing a basic function for -skI. Previous studies have concentrated on metaphorical, even stylistic, analyses of the suffix, determined in large part by the particular context in which it occurs. While the likelihood of such metaphorical uses dependent upon context is certainly to be expected, an analysis which posits such functions, without first exploring the possibility of an underlying unity in meaning, may fail to capture significant generalizations. To attempt to define the precise nature of a Quechua suffix by explaining all of its occurrences impressionistically is perhaps useful, but, nevertheless, analytically inadequate.

What I propose is that -skI has a basic grammatical function in Quechua, and this function must be defined before any further attempt is made at defining metaphorical or stylistic uses according to context. In this way, the analysis will emanate from a basic grammatical definition of -skI, and move on from there to the metaphorical, or secondary uses. In this approach, context is not ignored, for the suffix is to be considered in each particular context in the light of the defined basic use. The secondary uses in their various contexts should, however, be logically traceable back to the primary definition. If the primary definition is adequate, then each instance of -skI should reflect this in a logically direct way. If some instance of -skI cannot be traced back to the primary definition, then either this primary definition needs to be adjusted accordingly, or the possibility of more than one -skI in Conchucos Quechua needs to be considered. The possibility which should only be considered when all others have been exhausted is that -skI is merely a "catch-all" morpheme whose many and varied uses cannot be unified in some way according to a common definition. On the other hand, the search for a common Grundbedeutung based on the assumption that all of the present-day -ski's are historically derived from the same source, should not lead to an a priori decision that all of the uses of

-skI must be synchronically traceable to a common source meaning. Nevertheless, the notion of a word whose basic meaning is extended and reinterpreted according to its varied contexts is basic in linguistics. The same notion should be applicable to an affix with a definable grammatical function.

6. Towards an aspectual definition of -skI

In this section, -skI will be examined in the more readily definable contexts in which it occurs. My hypothesis is that the basic function of -skI is as a perfectivizing suffix on the verb; moreover, that this is a reasonable explanation for its behavior in a variety of otherwise puzzling contexts.

6.1. What is aspect?

The study of aspect has suffered from a lack of distinctive definition. General agreement exists in the notion that aspect does have something to do with temporal constituency, but that it is not to be equated with tense.[7] Still, definitions of aspect have traditionally tended to be imprecise and elusive, circular and contradictory to one another at their worst, and highly individualistic at their best.

The most helpful definition which I have found so far is in Comrie (1976), where aspects are considered as "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation." (1976:3) Whereas tense is concerned with relating the time of the situation referred to to some other time, such as the moment of speaking, aspect, in Comrie's framework, is concerned with the temporal "make-up" of a particular situation, without reference to other temporal frameworks.

The most basic opposition within the aspectual system is the perfective/imperfective opposition. In its broadest definition, perfective views dynamic situations as a complete whole, and imperfective, as situations in progress, from within. Perfective aspect, then, is the outsider's point of view; imperfective, the insider's point of view. In perfective aspect, "the whole of the situation is presented as a single unanalysable whole, with beginning, middle, and end rolled into one; no attempt is made to divide this situation up into the various individual phases that make up the action." (1976:3) [8]

Comrie's definition of aspect is not unique in its delineation of the perfective/imperfective opposition as the most basic. Its uniqueness rests rather in the breadth of viewpoint which can be considered to be perfective. In addition, the clarity with which Comrie explains his terms makes his definition the most testable of the plethora of options available as definitions for aspect. Henceforth, then, any reference to the perfective aspect or to perfectivity in general in this paper will assume Comrie's definitions of the terms, not because these are necessarily the only ways to define them but because they seem to

be the most suitable for the analysis of language data at this point.

6.2. Comments on methodology

Some further comments about analytical procedure are in order here. In the first place, some of the judgments about the use of -skI in specific instances are of necessity impressionistic: in any communication situation certain interpretive presuppositions must be made by the hearer. On the other hand, conclusions about -skI are based on the more obvious appearances, and observations are cross-linguistically supported by, for example, Comrie's evidence from a number of languages.

6.3. -skI and the imperfective

Since one of the clearest oppositions in aspectual systems is between the perfective and the imperfective, if -skI is indeed the perfective aspect marker for Conchucos Quechua, one would not expect it to co-occur with the marker of imperfective aspect. This is precisely the case. Moreover, the mutual exclusivity of the two is all the more noteworthy since Quechua verb morphology appears to have very few restrictions on combinations of derivational suffixes. Furthermore, while -ykaa has not been found to cooccur with -skI, it does co-occur freely with other "modal" suffixes such that the co-occurrence restriction with -skI is all the more noticeable. From this evidence alone, one could suggest that -skI does not cooccur with the marker of imperfective aspect since it is a marker of perfective aspect. Consider the following:

- (11) Shonqo:-paq-naw ka-pti-n-mi ashi-ykaa-mu-:.
heart-1-PURP-SIM be-adv-3-AFF seek-impfv-to:here-1

'I am looking for the one (the woman) who will be for my heart.'

- (12) *Shonqo:-paq-naw ka-pti-n-mi ashi-ykaa-skI-mu-:.
heart-1-PURP-SIM be-adv-3-AFF seek-impfv-perf-to:here-1

- (13) Kanan-qa ka-yka-n kostumbri.
today-TOP be-impfv-3 custom

'Nowadays there is a custom.'

- (14) *Kanan-qa ka-yka-skI-n kostumbri.
today-TOP be-impfv-perf-3 custom

6.4. -skI and completion

Consider now the following sentences, all involving the completion of an event:

- (15) Miku-skI-r-ni-n shamu-naq kasha-ku-q
eat-perf-adv-0-3 come-narpst get-:thorns-medrefl-sub
turuna kasha-man.
thornbush get:thorns-GOAL
'Having eaten, he came to the thornbush to get thorns.'
- (16) Tsay-shi koneehu-ta kacha-skI-n atoq.
that-REP rabbit-ACC let:go-perf-3 fox
'Then the fox catches (completive) the rabbit.'
- (17) Tsay-pita-m misa-ta wiya-skI-r-ni-n-qa
that-after-AFF mass-ACC hear-perf-adv-0-3-TOP
ranti-pu-ntsik.
buy-ben-12
'After having listened to the mass, we go shopping.'

In the first example, taken from a story about the exploits of a very cantankerous and unpleasant man, the -skI clarifies the fact that he did not come to the thorn bushes until he had finished eating. Without -skI, we might assume from the context that he had finished eating, but the -skI unambiguously marks the completion of the event. In the second example, taken from an animal folk tale about a fox and a rabbit, the -skI indicates that the rabbit was indeed sent away, that is to say, he really left. Without -skI, again we might assume his departure; on the other hand, the placement of -skI on the verb eliminates all doubt. In the third example, taken from a monologue about folk customs in the Andes, the narrator indicates that trading around among the people does not begin until after the mass is over (here, a mass for the dead.) Again, -skI is attached to the verb whose action is completed.

6.5. skI and rapidity

A grammatical marker of perfective aspect may be used to indicate shortness of duration of an event as well as its completion. The following sentence is taken from a monologue in which the speaker is describing the time when, in travelling home from a regional fiesta, his belongings were completely "whisked" away from him in a moment, before he had a chance to do anything about it. -SkI is appended to the verb root apa meaning 'take.' Apa with the suffix -mu means simply 'to take away.' The speaker insisted, however, that this taking away was so brisk that it happened too soon for him to do anything about it, in fact, before he was aware of what was going on. One would strongly suspect, then, that -skI on the verb indicates brisk completion:

- (18) Llapa-n qellay-ni:-ta ichik ichik llatsapa:-ta
all-3P money-0-1P-ACC little little clothing-1P-ACC

llapa-n-ta apa-skI-mu-n kaarru-n-chaw.
all-3P-ACC take-perf-afar-3P car-3P-LOC

'All of my money, all of the little clothing I have,
everything he took away in his car.'

Thus -skI may be used to indicate not only telicity, but rapidity, functions which one would expect a typical marker of perfective aspect to perform.

-SkI may also appear on verbs indicating the sudden inception of an event or state which is not necessarily of short duration. In such contexts, the inception of the event is not in focus, but, rather, the event as a totality. The following sentences illustrate this function of -skI:

- (19) Tsay-man-shi huk atoq-qa rupa siki
That-GOAL-REP one fox-TOP burnt bottomed

yuri-skI-r.
appear-perf-adv

'Then a 'burnt-bottomed' fox appeared.'

- (20) Maki:-chaw ka-na-n-ta qonqa-skI-pti-n...
hand-1P-LOC be-nml-3P-ACC forget-perf-adv-3

'Having forgotten that it should have been in my hand..'

The fox of (19) appeared on the scene quite unannounced, but, according to the continuing narrative, he clearly stayed around for awhile. Likewise, what was suddenly forgotten in (20) remained forgotten for a period of time.

Conchucos Quechua shares with other Quechua dialects in central Peru the inceptive/punctiliar suffix -rI, which may be used to emphasize the inception of an event. SkI may not appear in such contexts where the inception of the event is in focus. Consider the following:

- (21) Kwenta-ri-shayki
tell:story-incep-1/2:fut

'I am going to tell you a story.'

- (22) *Kwenta-skI-shayki

(21) is found typically at the beginning of narratives. (22) is ungrammatical.

Because of evidence from Conchucos Quechua that -skI is used to indicate completed action and action looked upon as a single whole without regard to inner complexity, it can be considered to be a marker of perfective aspect on the verb.[9]

7. -SkI and transitivity

In this section, I will show how the analysis of -skI as a marker of perfective aspect is further supported by its behavior as a component feature of High Transitivity and by its covariance with other features of High Transitivity.

Transitivity, according to Hopper and Thompson (1980:251), "is traditionally understood as a global property of an entire clause, such that an activity is 'carried over' or 'transferred' from an agent to a patient." Hopper and Thompson codify what has been intuitively understood into explicitly defined components. The parameters of Transitivity, each indicating "a different facet of the effectiveness or intensity with which the action is transferred from one participant to another," are as follows:

	High	Low
A. Participants	2 or more participants, A and O.	1 participant
B. Kinesis	action	non-action
C. Aspect	telic	atelic
D. Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
E. Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
F. Affirmation	affirmative	negative
G. Mode	realis	irrealis
H. Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. Affectedness of O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. Individuation of O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

The Transitivity Hypothesis (1980:255), supported by data from a wide variety of languages and reported to have universal applicability, is as follows:

If two clauses (a) and (b) in a language differ in that (a) is higher in Transitivity according to any of the features 1A-J, then, if a concomitant grammatical or semantic difference appears elsewhere in the clause, that difference will also show (a) to be higher in Transitivity.

Transitivity is a continuum, and its components co-vary on a scale from High to Low. Since Transitivity, is, moreover, a discourse-determined global property of an entire clause, even a traditionally defined "transitive" clause may be more or less transitive and a traditionally defined "intransitive" clause may be more or less transitive as well.

This notion is particularly helpful in the analysis of -skI. Of over two hundred appearances of -skI examined in preparing the

present paper,[10] roughly two out of three of the clauses containing the suffix were obviously transitive according to the traditional definition. The rest, then, were "intransitive" according to the traditional definition, yet clearly exhibited certain transitive properties. Quechua clauses, then, do not always settle into a comfortable transitive/intransitive dichotomy, as traditionally defined by the presence or absence of an overt direct object. This is perfectly acceptable if Transitivity is defined as a continuum.

The blurring of the transitive/intransitive distinction is especially evident with Quechua verbs such as tinkuy 'to meet'. In German or in English, the equivalent verb takes the accusative case or the direct object position, respectively, and is thus clearly transitive according to the traditional definition:

(23a) Ich habe ihn getroffen.
I have him met

(23b) I have met him.

The features exhibiting High Transitivity in (23a) and (23b) are:

(23c) Participants: two
Kinesis: action
Aspect: telic
Punctuality: punctual
Affirmation: affirmative
Mode: realis
Individuation of O: highly individuated

In Conchucos Quechua, on the other hand, tinkuy takes the comitative case and is technically intransitive according to the traditional definition of transitivity:

(24) Tinku- SKI -: pay-wan 'I have just met him.'
meet -perf -1 he -COM

Evaluating the clause according to Hopper and Thompson's parameters for Transitivity, we see that it is identical to (23c) above. The Conchucos Quechua sentence shares the same number of High Transitivity features as English and German, namely seven. This particular object in Quechua is not marked with the Accusative Case, yet, semantically, it is referential and definite in the same sense as the Object in the English and the German examples. In each case, degree of Volitionality of the agent is not clear without reference to the larger context of the utterance, and Agency is probably low, in that a transfer of an action as such does not seem to be taking place. In summary, all three clauses rank on the High side of the Transitivity scale.

Hopper and Thompson's Transitivity Hypothesis predicts that only when the Transitivity features obligatorily co-occur in the morphosyntax or semantics of a language will these paired features

always be on the same side of the Transitivity scale. Evidence from Conchucos Quechua indicates that when -SkI occurs, it will indicate perfective aspect, but not necessarily the reverse. The data suggest that there is reason to suspect that -skI is not the only marker of perfective aspect.[11] In certain cases, perfectivity may even be understood from the lexical meaning of the verb itself.

-SkI is, then, optional in the strict sense of the term, and, therefore, the Transitivity Hypothesis does not predict that it will necessarily co-occur with other features of High Transitivity. I would predict, however, that, for Conchucos Quechua, this is the case. Where skI appears, so will other features of High Transitivity.

In Hopper and Thompson's framework, "Aspect is systematically correlated with the degree of Transitivity of the verb: if the Aspect is perfective, the interpretation - other things being equal - has properties allowing the clause to be classified as more transitive; but if the Aspect is imperfective, the clause can be shown on independent grounds to be less transitive."

Consider the following two examples, the first previously introduced in section 6.3:

- (11) Shongo:-paq-naw ka-pti-n-mi
heart-1P-PUR-SIM be-ADV:SS-3-AFF

ashi-YKAA-mu-u.
look-IMPV-to:here-1

'I am looking for the one who will be for my heart.'

- (25) Hipash-pis choolu-pis ashi-naku-SKI-r
girl-too guy-too seek-recip-perf-adv

kuya-naku-SKI-r-ni-n kiki-n-kuna-lla-na
love-recip-perf-adv-Ø-3 self-3P-pl-just-now

mama-n-kuna-ta choolu-kaq aywa-n willa-ku-q.
parent-3P-pl-ACC guy-def go-3 tell-refl-narpst

'Both the young woman and the young man having found each other, having fallen in love with each other, on their own go to tell the young man's parents.'

A comparison of (11), with -ykaa, and (25) with -skI for features of high transitivity yields the following:

(11)
-ykaa

0 highly
individuated

(25)
-skI

All features of
High Transitivity

The high telicity indicated by the suffix -skI coincides with the forces pulling the clause towards the Transitive end. If, however, no -skI is on the verb, the other forces will still tend to pull the clause towards the transitive end, as illustrated in the Transitivity configuration for (26), which includes all of the High Transitivity features as does (25) except for the telic Aspect:

- (26) Mana warmi-kaq ni ollqo-kaq reqi-naku-ya-q-tsu ni
NEG woman-def nor man-def know- recip-pl-narpst-NEG nor

chiina-pis ni choolu-pis ni ima-naw ka-ya-nqa-n-ta.
girl-too nor guy-too nor what-SIM be-pl-nml-3-ACC

Sinoo-qa mama-n-kuna-lla ashi-naku-ya-q.
rather-TOP parent-3P-pl-just seek- recip-pl-narpst

'Neither the young woman nor the young man used to know each other, neither girl nor guy, by no means. Rather, their parents would choose them.'

The following two clauses also differ only in the feature of telicity. Compare the clauses in the following example from narrative text for components of High Transitivity:

- (27) Tsay-chaw-mi (a) qatswa-tsi-ntsik.
that-LOC-AFF dance-caus-12

- (b) Tushu-skI-tsi-ntsik.
dance-perf-caus-12

'There we have them dance. We really make them dance.'

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| (a) Participants: two | (b) Participants: two |
| Kinesis: action | Kinesis: action |
| Aspect: atelic | Aspect: telic |
| Volitionality: volitional | Volitionality: volitional |
| Affirmation: affirmative | Affirmation: affirmative |
| Mode: realis | Mode: realis |
| Agency: A high in potency | Agency: A high in potency |

Considering the evidence in the light of Hopper and Thompson's statement that "Aspect is systematically correlated with the degree of transitivity of the verb," (1980:271), the hypothesis that -skI marks perfective aspect is further substantiated. When the verb is clearly transitive, -skI will intensify, or "perfectivize" that transitivity; when the verb is less transitive, -skI will push the clause towards higher transitivity.

8. -SkI in the discourse

In their discussion of Transitivity, Hopper and Thompson emphasize the determining role of the discourse context on the level of Transitivity of individual clauses. Thus far, I have considered -SkI within its immediate morphological and clausal environment, with only occasional references to the wider context in which the suffix is uttered. According to Hopper and Thompson, however, the defining properties of Transitivity are discourse-determined, and explained on the basis of pragmatic function. This section will explore some of the wider contexts of which the suffix -skI is a part in order to illustrate how -skI is discourse-determined, and how this reinforces the analysis of the suffix as a perfectivizer.

Out of a sample corpus of eighteen transcribed texts of Conchucos Quechua, only one is without a single instance of -skI. This conspicuous absence demands explanation, especially since the same speaker employs the suffix liberally in other contexts. The reason becomes apparent when the genre of the discourse is identified: hortatory. It is an exhortation (by a godfather to his godson, pleading with him to change his style of living). The overriding theme in the monologue is the uncertainty of the boy's future. Questions with open-ended answers are frequent:

- (28) Pashku, ima-ta-ta-m wiya-: qam-pita?
Pashku what-ACC-??-AFF hear-1-you-ABL

'Pashku, what is this I hear about you?'

The use of conditional (irrealis) mood, which correlates with Low Transitivity, is frequent as well:

- (29) Qam-qa muna-nki-man-tsuraq qam-wan mamaa-ni-ki-wan
you-TOP want-2-cond-?? you-COM mother-Ø-2P-COM

pani-ki-wan ka-na-n-ta?
sister-2P-COM be-nml-3P-ACC

'Wouldn't you like your mother and your sister to be with you (in heaven someday)?' (Implied: you must not...)

- (30) Kanan-ta-m apa-q-man karsel-kuna-man
today-ACC-AFF take-purp-cond jail-pl-GOAL

qayku-tsi-mu-q-ni-ki kay-naw ka-pti-ki.
put:in-caus-to:here-sub-Ø-2 this-SIM be-adv-2

'I might even have to take you to the jail now and have you thrown in if you keep on like this.'

The prospects of the boy changing his ways are unlikely, and the speaker gives no indication that he expects the boy to respond to his exhortation:

- (31) Qam muna-nki-man-tsuraq tsay-naw ka-y-ta?
you want-2-cond-?? that-SIM be-nml-ACC

Imanir-tan tsay-naw ka-nki?
why-?? this-SIM be-2

'Do you really want to be like that?' (Maybe you do)
'Why are you like that?'

Perfective aspect would be expected in a context of affirmation, certainty, and completeness of action. If a climate of negativity, uncertainty, and non-action is the prevailing context, the absence of -skI is reasonable and serves to further confirm its identity as a marker of perfectivity.

In contrast to the above discourse, procedural texts have many occurrences of -skI. Its meaning in this context could be informally stated as : "having finished that, you then go ahead and do the next step." In other words, -skI marks sequence in the steps of procedural discourse by indicating the successful accomplishment of each phase.

Sequencing is expressed in the text by a pattern of clause chaining in which the final verb of a sentence, focusing on the enactment of a specific step in the procedure, is repeated at the beginning of the next sentence in an adverbial clause in which -skI is suffixed to the verb. The following is an excerpt from a text which explains how to prepare a special kind of boiled wheat which is a typical Andean food:

- (32) Yacha-tsi-shayki llushtu-y-ta.
know-caus-1/2fut peel-nml-ACC

Kay-naw-mi llushtu-ntsik.
this-SIM-AFF peel-l2

Uchpa-ta sirni-ntsik.
ash-ACC sift-l2

Uchpa-ta sirni-SKI-r-ni-n-mi,
ash-ACC sift-perf-adv-Ø-3-AFF

yaku-man wifa-rpu-r-ni-n-qa,
water-GOAL add-in-adv-Ø-3-TOP

waami-kacha-SKI-ntsik.
dissolve-diffuse-perf-l2

Qaywi-ntsik, qaywi-ntsik alli maki-ntsik-wan
beat-12 beat-12 good hand-12P-COM

Qaywi-SKI-r,
beat-perf-adv

tsay ruri-n-kaq-chaw qori-kU-SKI-pti-n-mi,
that inside-3P-def-LOC gather-refl-perf-adv-3-AFF

llapin llapin hipi-r-ni-n, wika-pa-ntsik.
press press take:out-adv-Ø-3 throw-ben-12

Tsay killimshan-kaq-mi shanka wafu-shqa,
that carbon:pieces-def-AFF carbon dead-part

tsay fuchu shanka-ta tikra-kU-SKI-mu-pti-n,
that tiny carbon-ACC change-refl-perf-to:here-adv-3

yapay harneeru-wan shuyshu-ntsik.
again sifter-COM strain-12

Shuyshu-SKI-r-qa, wika-pa-ntsik.
strain-perf-adv-TOP throw:out-ben-12

Hitari-SKI-ntsik mana-na alli-ta-qa.
throw:out-perf-12 NEG-now good-ACC-TOP

Y tsay-ta-m timpu-tsi-ntsik.
and that-ACC-AFF boil-caus-12

'I am going to teach you how to prepare boiled (peeled) wheat. Like this we peel the wheat: We sift (the) ashes. When we have sifted the ashes, adding them to (the) water, we dissolve them. We beat it, we beat it well with our hands. When we have beaten it, pressing down what has gathered at the bottom, taking it out, we throw that away. Those pieces of carbon which have been burned and become very fine, in the same way we strain them. When we have strained them, we throw them out. We throw out that which is not good. And then we boil it.'

A parallel use of -skI is to mark sequence in a narrative. Increasing action, or kinesis, is accompanied by increased use of skI. Within the context of the discourse, this correlates with increased foregrounding of the action as it builds to a climax, which is precisely what Hopper and Thompson would predict for situations of High Transitivity:

- (33) Tsay-kuna-ta tari-SKI-r-ni-n-qa
that-pl-ACC find-perf-adv-Ø-3-TOP

deklara-tsi-q:
declare-caus-narpst

"Kay-naw-pa runa-mahi-ki-ta rura-ru-yki."
this-SIM-GEN person-accom-2P-ACC do-recpst-2

Ni-pti-n-qa,
say-adv-3-TOP

patsa-na qaya-raa-kU-ya-ra-n.
fear-now cry-stat-refl-pl-past-3

Qaya-raa-kU-SKI-r-ni-n-qa,
cry-stat-refl-perf-adv-Ø-3-TOP

rege-ya-ra-n rasun-pa wafu-tsi-paku-ya-nqa-n-ta.
know-pl-past-3 truth-GEN die-caus-dir-pl-nml-3-ACC

'When they found them they declared: "This is what you did to your fellow man." When they said that, they cried out with fear. When they cried out in fear, they (the first group) recognized that they (the second group) had done the killing.'

The repeated use of -skI at the point of climax creates the kind of foregrounding to which Hopper and Thompson refer. Notice the four -skI's in the following sentence:

- (34) Kandaadu-ta chura-SKI-r-ni-n kapcha-SKI-r-ni-n-qa
padlock-ACC put-perf-adv-Ø-3 lock-perf-adv-Ø-3-TOP

wahi:-ta llaki-SKI-r-ni-n
house-1P-ACC be:sad-perf-adv-Ø-3

imarikoq tuma-pa-SKI-r-ni-n
considerable circle-ben-perf-adv-Ø-3

kuti-pa-mu:.
return-ben-to:here-1

'Having put the padlock on and locked it, feeling very sad about (leaving) the house, after having walked around it (one last time), I went back.'

-SkI may also be used to mark temporal sequence in a real-life description of a personal experience, as in the following account by a participant in a Quechua Writers' Workshop describing his journey to this event:

- (35) Noqa-ta qaya-tsi-yaa-ma-rqa-n radio-pa-mi kay
I-ACC call-caus-pl-/1-past-3 radio-GEN-AFF this

Huari marka-man.
Huari town-GOAL

Tsay-pita yarqa-yka-mu-rqa-: Llamellin-pita
this-ABL leave-dir-to:here-past-1 Llamellin-ABL

Punchaw-lla.
day-just

Rupay ka-yka-pti-n maletin-ni:-ta hancha-rku-r
sun be-impf-adv-3 suitcase-Ø-1P-ACC carry-up-adv

pasaypa tanya-yka-pti-n shamuyka-r
extremely rain-impfv-adv-3 come-impfv-adv

shamuyka-r, riyu-man chaSKI-:.
come-impfv-adv river-GOAL arrive-1

Tsay-pita tsakapa pasa-SKI-mu-:.
that-ABL dark-GEN pass-perf-to:here-1

Mantsa mantsa aywa-kU-mu:-lla.
fearing fearing go-refl-to:here-1-just

Tari-SKI-mu-: kaarru-ta Allpas ni-ya-nqa-n-chaw
find-perf-afar-1 vehicle-ACC Allpas say-pl-nml-3-LOC

Huari-pa chaSKI-mu-r-ni-n-qa.
Huari-GOAL arrive-to:here-adv-Ø-3-TOP

Tapu-kU-SKI-: Ima-paq-taq
ask-medrefl-perf-1 what-PUR-quest

qaya-tsi-yaa-ma-rqa-yki?
call-caus-pl-/1-past-2

Tsay willa-SKI-ma-n Kechwa-ta yachakU-na-yki-paq
that tell-perf-/1-3 Quechua-ACC learn-nml-2-PUR

ni-r-ni-n.
say-adv-Ø-3

'They called me by radio to this town of Huari. Then I left from Llamellin to Punchaw. While it was daylight, carrying my suitcase, although it was really raining, coming, coming, I arrived at the river. Then by night, fearfully, fearfully I came on. I found a ride at (a place called) Allpas. When I arrive in Huari, I asked: "Why did you all call me?" Then they tell me: "It's for you to learn Quechua!" saying.

-SkI also marks temporal sequence in the course of normal conversation aside from narrative or anecdotal accounts: In (36), the speaker is commenting on the behavior of trout in the local river:

- (36) Lancha aywa-mu-pti-n, truucha rika-SKI-r,
launch go-to:here-adv-3 trout see-perf-adv

qeshpi-SKI-ya-n.
escape-perf-pl-3

'When the launch comes, the trout having seen it,
escape.'

-SKI cannot be properly understood without considering its interrelatedness with the context. The contexts investigated serve to confirm the use of -ski as an indicator of perfective aspect.

9. Is there only one -ski?

The data indicates that the basic meaning of -ski is that of perfective aspect and the examples supplied thus far illustrate this. Where a form is used very frequently, however, (and -ski is one of these forms), its meaning tends to become more diffuse as the form adapts to its various environments. This process of spreading, or broadening, of meaning is not peculiar to the Quechua of Conchucos, rather, it is the way all languages use finite means to express an infinite number of potential semantic domains. According to Zipf's principle of diversity of meanings (1949), there is a direct relationship between the number of different meanings of a word and its relative frequency of occurrence. The distinction by German linguists between Grundbedeutung (literally, "ground meaning") and Nebenbedeutung (secondary meaning) has its roots in this historical process of drift from the more concrete to the more abstract.[12]

Parker (1973) followed this line of reasoning in his analysis of the "modal" suffix -rkU according to basic and metaphorical uses. A similar approach to -ski seems advisable. To review in detail all of the shades of meaning which -ski might be used to express would be impossible, not only because of their great variety and number, but because of the tendency for shades of meaning to overlap. Moreover, such an approach would produce a list of uses without necessarily showing their relation, if any, to the notion of perfective aspect. My intention is to show, through a representative sampling of the data, some of the ways in which the perfective meaning can be expanded and adjusted creatively in the speech of Conchucos Quechua.

9.1. -SKI and surprise

SKI typically signals events of short duration. If such an event occurs very suddenly, it may contain an element of surprise for the affected participants, and -ski will not only indicate the rapidity with which the event occurs, but also that it is contrary to the expectations of those involved or affected:[13]

- (37) Hapa-lla--kuna noqa-kuna yacha-kaaku-ya-shka-a.
alone-just-1P-pl I-pl know-complete-pl-perf-1

Ni-SKI-mu-pti-ki imay qaqla--chaw laqya-q.
say-perf-to:here-adv-2 when face-1P-LOC slap-sub

'(You said to me) "We are doing fine on our own."
When you said that to me, it was as if you had suddenly
slapped me in the face.'

9.2. -SKI and increased intensity

As one of the indicators of High Transitivity, -ski may also convey the notion of increased urgency or intensity (Hopper and Thompson 1980):

- (38) Tsay-mi tsay urku-n-chaw resa-yka-nqa-n-ta
that-AFF that forehead-3P-LOC pray-impfv-nml-3-ACC

aha-SKI-n.
get:mad-perf-3

'Then, when he was stoned on the forehead while
praying, he really got mad.'

- (39) Palla-rkU-ya-pti--qa lansa-mu-ra-n oqa
pick:up-up-pl-adv-1-TOP vomit-to:here-past-3 oca

miku-nqa-n-ta mama-n qara-nqa-n-ta.
eat-nml-3-ACC mother-3P give-nml-3-ACC

Lansa-SKI-mu-r-raq, lansa-SKI-mu-r-raq.
vomit-perf-to:here-adv-LIM vomit-perf-to:here-adv-LIM

'When we picked him up he vomited the oca that his
mother had given him to eat. He vomited (with force).
He really vomited.'

Note also the repetition of LansaskImurraq in (39) for even greater intensity.

When questioned specifically, native speakers will assert that:

- (40a) Miku-SKI-y 'Eat it (up)!'
eat-perf-IMP

means to eat faster than:

- (40b) Miku-y 'Eat it!'
eat-IMP

Likewise,

- (41a) Mushku-yka-n
smell-impfv-3

means simply 'It smells,' but:

- (41b) Mushku-SKI-n-na
smell-perf-3-now

means that 'It really smells.'

9.3. -skI and thoroughness

9.3.1. Thorough and complete. If a speaker wishes to point out that an activity was not only completed, but was done thoroughly, with nothing left undone, he may signal this by the use of -skI.

- (42) Tsay-pita-na-m llapa-n-ta usha-SKI-r-ni-n-qa
that-ABL-now-AFF all-3-ACC finish-perf-adv-Ø-3-TOP

yapay ka-nqa-n yaku-man wiffa-rpu-r-ni-n-qa
again be-nml-3 water-GOAL add-in-adv-Ø-3-TOP

maki-ntsik-wan kupan kupan
hand-12P-COM sprinkling sprikling

maylla-kacha-SKI-r-ni-n-qa
wash-diffuse-perf-adv-Ø-3-TOP

kostal-man wiffa-rkU-r-ni-n
sack-GOAL add-up-adv-Ø-3

waraa-ni-n-paq-raq haqi-ykU-ntsik.
morrow-Ø-2-PUR-

'Then, when we have completely finished everything, again into the water we put it, rubbing it with our hands. Having thoroughly washed it, emptying it into the bag, we leave it until the morrow.'

- (43) Taka-n-pis shuyshu-SKI-ntsik.
pat-3-too strain-perf-12

'Also patting it down, we strain it thoroughly.'

The notion of thoroughness can easily be traced to the idea of completion, in that a thorough job is not only one which has been completed, but one which has been "completely" completed.

9.3.2. Thorough but not completed. Some instances of skI indicate that an action is viewed as a complete, but not a completed, whole. The emphasis is on the whole of the action, not on its termination point. Consider the following:

- (44) Kay-naw wahi:-ta sharka-tsi-r-ni-n haqi-SKI-r
this-SIM house-1P-ACC stand-caus-adv-Ø-3 leave-perf-adv

aywa-kU-na:-paq ni-r-ni-n-qa yarpa-chakU-SKI-r
to-refl-nml-PUR say-adv-Ø-3-TOP think-wi:care-perf-adv

kuti-kU-mu-:.
return-refl-to:here-1

'Like this I've built my house just to leave it
completely, saying to myself, completely lost in
thought, I returned.'

The first instance of -skI in (44), hagiskir 'having left completely,' focuses on the completion of the action, but the second instance, yarpachakuskirnin 'thinking completely carefully about it,' does not imply that the "thinking" has been completed. Quite the contrary: at the time he made the utterance, some time later, the speaker was still very concerned about his house, and the use of -skI cannot therefore indicate that this action was completed. If, however, the completeness, or thoroughness of this concern is taken into account, this use of -skI can be explained as pragmatic extension of the basic meaning.

The following example, taken from a narrative text, refers to the materialistic desires of speaker's wife. She is known in this tale as a nagging woman who demands what she wants until she gets it:

- (45) Y tsay-kuna rasun-kaq-ta-qa marka-man kada
and that-pl true-def-ACC-TOP town-GOAL each

wana-SKI-r wana-SKI-r-qa
need-perf-adv need-perf-adv-TOP

aani-KU-SKI-yaa-mu-q:
agree-refl-perf-pl-to:here-narpst

"Noqa rantiku-ya-shayki..."
I buy-pl-1/2fut

'And he would agree with her every time they went to
town, for sure every time she needed (wanted) anything,
saying, "I'll buy it for you."'

The speaker could well have chosen to use -skI here in order to express the complete, all-consuming nagging of his wife in wanaskir wanaskir. The repetition of the verb for emphasis would contribute to the intensity in a similar way to (39). If this hypothesis is correct, then -skI can indeed be used to indicate the action of the verb as a whole, without necessarily focusing on its termination point. In the case of the latter example, however, an interpretation including focus on the termination would not be out of order, either. (The wife could have stopped nagging her husband.) In any event, the notion of perfectivity

can reasonably be extended to encompass either interpretation.

9.4. -skI diminutive

Since the perfective aspect focuses on the whole of an event as one entity, this may have the effect of condensing the event to one point in the time continuum. A metaphorical extension of this is a sense of smallness. Certain clauses indicate that -skI has an implied diminutive effect: It was explained to me by a native speaker that, whereas:

(46a) pishta-y
kill:off-inf

means to kill with a knife,

(46b) pishta-SKI-y
kill:off-perf-inf

means to kill with a knife and chop into little pieces.

These extended uses of -skI all share two characteristics: 1) they can all be traced back to the basic meaning of perfective in that they can be viewed as metaphorical applications of the aspectual sense, and 2) they can all be considered to convey modal qualities, desiderative or intentional attitudes on the part of the speaker.

The conclusion to be reached from the above is that -skI is not strictly isolatable as a grammatical marker of perfective aspect in Conchucos Quechua. Instead, -skI may be considered as a linguistic unit potentially capable of bearing subjective information of a modal nature (a "superstratum" to the more concrete aspectual meaning). This modal nature does not conflict with the aspectual nature of the suffix, but it does indicate that, whereas aspect and tense are distinguishable from one another, at least to some degree in Quechua, aspect and modality are not.

The lack of clear categorial separation between aspect and modality helps to explain some of the other puzzling instances of -skI, such as its use with the future, where the attitude of the speaker, (his certainty that an event is going to take place), is the determining factor in specifying the perfectivity of the event:

(47) Llapan ayllu-wan-pis tsay waktsa marka-chaw
all family-COM-to that poor town-LOC

llakina-r-pis ama aywaku-y-tsu imay-pis
grieve-adv-too NEG go-IMP-NEG when-too

shamu-skI-shaq-mi panta-ykU-tsi-r-ni-ki.
come-perf-lfut-AFF miss-dir-caus-adv-Ø-2

'With the whole family in that humble town grieving, too, "Don't go" (saying), (I answer): whenever I do come back for sure, (until then) I will be missing you.'

The certainty is further indicated by the use of the affirmative evidential/validational suffix -mi. The salient notion of modality, which coordinates with the notion of perfective aspect, is that of certainty on the part of the speaker. In many instances, I would predict, speaker certainty about an event is the determining factor in the choice of the perfective aspect. In any event, extended, or metaphorical uses of -skI do not contradict the basic definition of perfective aspect. In that they can all be explained in the light of the notion of perfectivity, they further substantiate the perfective interpretation. Furthermore, proceeding from a basic to an extended definition determined in large part by the pragmatics of the communication situation is the only way to obtain a coherent conception of the role which -skI, or any other suffix, for that matter, plays in Quechua.

40. -SkI and lexical aspect

We have seen that the intersection between aspect and modality in Quechua is relevant to the interpretation of -skI. Another factor influencing the expression of perfective aspect in Conchucos Quechua is the intersection between aspect and the semantic type of the verb. Lyons (1977) states:

Some languages do have a rich set of distinct aspects. It is not uncommon, however, for there to be no more than two or three formally distinct aspects, the distribution of which is rather wider than the terms that are employed to label them would tend to suggest. It may then happen, and frequently does, that one and the same aspect will be interpreted differently according to the character of the verb.

This influence of the "character of the verb" would explain, for example, why certain instances of -skI indicate rapid inception and completion of an event, as in the examples cited in 6.5, while other instances indicate completion only, an extreme example of which is the following:

- (48) usha-SKI-n-na 'It's already finished'
 finish-perf-3-now

Lexical aspect may also explain why -SkI may be used to indicate successful completion or achievement of an activity, not merely that it has reached its endpoint. The distinction here is sometimes difficult to explain from the use of -skI alone. Note, however, in the following pair of sentences, how the first indicates simple completion of the activity of talking alone, while the second indicates successful achievement of the activity

of throwing something away:

- (49) Nikaptin-qa qechu-SKI-ya-pti-n-qa llapa-n
then-TOP remove-perf-pl-adv-3-TOP all-3

marka-mahi-n-kuna willa-nakU-SKI-r-qa aywa-naq.
town-accom-3-pl tell-recv-perf-adv-TOP go-narpst

'Then after they had taken it away, all of the townspeople, having talked among themselves, left.'

- (50) Shikra-man wifa-rkU-r-qa mama-n-kuna
bag-GOAL add-up-adv-TOP mother-3P-pl

hita-SKI-yaa-naq qaqa-ta.
throw-perf-pl-narpst rock-ACC

'After she had put them in the bag, their mother threw them away by a large rock.'

The -skI in gechuskiyaptinga 'having removed it' and the -skI in hitaskiyaanaq 'threw them away,' indicate successfully completed action. The -skI in willanakuskirga, 'having talked among themselves,' says nothing about successful achievement of the talkers' goals. If we consider that the lexical aspect of 'talk among themselves' does not indicate transfer of action to nearly the degree that 'remove it' or 'throw away' do, then the difference between completion and successful achievement can be explained, not on the basis of skI, but on the basis of the verb to which it is affixed.

In their discussion of Transitivity, Hopper and Thompson distinguish between 'Aktionsart', or lexical aspect, and Aspect proper, in the sense of telicity/perfectivity (1980:271). Accordingly, a stative verb, which by nature would not be expected to depict action, would tend towards imperfectivity rather than perfectivity by nature. This is, in general, true for Conchucos Quechua. Consider the following pair of clauses:

- (51a) Yamay-lla-m ka-ykaa: 'I am fine.'
well-just-AFF be-impfv-1

- (51b) *Yamay-lla-m ka-SKI-:

The verb kay 'to be,' typically appears with the imperfective affix -ykaa, and not with the perfective affix -skI. However, there are certain exceptions to this, notably the following:

- (52) Aywa-r-ni-n ishkan ka-skI-shun wahi-ntsik-chaw
go-adv-3 two be-perf-12fut house-12P-LOC

If we go, then we will be two in our house.'

- (53) Examen ka-SKI-pti-n-tsurag shamu-nqa.
exam be-perf-adv-3-?? come-3fut

'When the exam has been (finished), he will come.'

These can only be understood correctly if we interpret -skI as indicating the completion of a change of state, as in (52), or the conclusion, as in (53), of an ongoing state. There is nothing in the lexical aspect of the verb 'to be' itself which would indicate this perfectivization of the situation. By process of elimination, we conclude that skI alone indicates the perfectivity in these instances. The appearance of skI in a most unlikely environment without the correlation of other perfectivizing factors clearly substantiates the hypothesis that it communicates perfectivity.

11. Further comments and conclusions

One way to encode perfective aspect in Conchucos Quechua is by affixing -skI to the verb. Isolated sentences and clauses within larger discourses substantiate this claim. Language data also indicate that -skI's function is not limited to marking perfectivity alone, but that -skI may also convey certain modal qualities, such as certainty on the part of the speaker that an event will be brought to a successful conclusion. Neither -skI nor any other of the derivational suffixes in Quechua is obligatory: a speaker may choose not to employ -skI in a given environment. If -skI occurs, however, its meaning in the context can be traced back to the essential notion of perfective aspect.

If -skI is not chosen by a particular speaker in an instance requiring the indication of perfective aspect, the perfectivity will be indicated by some other element in the grammar, most likely by another derivational suffix. In other words, -skI can be defined by perfective aspect, but perfective aspect cannot be defined by skI. The suffix -rkU, for example, may be also used to indicate perfectivity, so that statements such as mikurkun 'he eats it (all) up' and mikuskin 'he eats it completely' are quite close in meaning.[14]

This study has explored the expression of perfective aspect in the verb of Conchucos Quechua by seeking to categorize a single suffix; having identified this suffix with perfective aspect does not imply that perfectivity in Conchucos Quechua can only be indicated by -skI. Quite the contrary, I suspect otherwise. Considering perfectivity to be a continuum in the sense that Hopper and Thompson interpret Transitivity, -skI could be said to be more perfective than -rkU in Conchucos. I would suspect that in dialects of Quechua where -skI does not appear, -rkU would rate higher on the perfectivity continuum.[15] Quechua language consultants often have difficulty distinguishing differences in

meaning between verb forms such as these, and will sometimes mention only that -skI conveys a slightly greater degree of urgency. The distinction in this case would be more of modality than of aspect.

The apparently modal uses of -skI are disturbing in the analysis because they interfere with the tidiness of the categorization of perfectivity. On the other hand, if the aspect definition is taken as basic, the modal qualities can be recognized for what they are: subjective attitudinal influences closely allied to speaker style and the specific communication situation.

The interrelationship between mood and aspect in -skI is symptomatic of the behavior of other derivational suffixes as they pattern together on the verb in the various Quechua dialects. The case of -rkU and -skI is but one example of overlapping functions. Furthermore, each dialect is unique and, at this point, there is no reason to suspect that the patterning of the derivational suffixes will be the same in any two dialects. Not even -skI in one dialect can necessarily be equated with -skI in another dialect without careful investigation. Knowing that -skI indicates perfectivity in Conchucos is no guarantee, for example, that it does likewise in Western Huanuco.

Since none of the derivational suffixes is obligatory in the way that tense and person markers in Quechua are, their interrelationship with tense needs to be investigated. To what extent can aspect, specifically, perfective aspect, be expressed through tense markers, if at all? Study of the interrelationship between tense and aspect could shed light on the notion of aspect as distinct from tense, not only in Quechua, but in language in general. Aspect has frequently been investigated in languages which do not have separate grammatical markers for tense and aspect, and this may be a source for ambiguity in definitions. Traditionally, for example, perfective aspect has been equated with perfect tense. The study of aspect, not only in Quechua, but in typologically similar languages, should contribute to a greater understanding of what appears to be a universal category.

Further complications arise not only from the derivational suffixes themselves, but from the verbs to which they are affixed. To what extent, for example, is -skI's perfectivity contingent upon the nature of the verb stem to which it is affixed? -skI's frequent attraction to verbs such as ushay 'to finish' is certainly not coincidental.[16]

Finally, a key to unscrambling the linguistic puzzle of the present is the linguistic situation of the past. Where did -skI come from? From a main verb? If so, what did -skI mean? Extensive diachronic study in the Quechua language family might shed light on the matter.

Footnotes

1. This paper was produced under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Ohio State University, and is based on field work carried out in Eastern Ancash, Peru, Province of Huari, District of San Luis, in 1981 and 1982. The majority of the texts I owe to Mariano Jaramillo Paulino, native of Huanchacabamba, Pomabamba, but residing in San Luis at the time. Other texts upon which the research was based are from Chacas, San Luis, and surrounding towns and villages.

I wish to thank especially Carl Harrison, Brian Joseph, and Peter Landerman for their insightful comments and suggestions, and Tom and Doris Payne for time and help with their computer.

Conchucos Quechua has the following phonemes: Consonants: p, t, ts, ch, k, q (post-velar obstruent), s, sh, h, m, n, ñ, l (ll), r, w, y. Vowels: i, a, u, and their corresponding lengthened counterparts. Under certain conditions, when the high vowels i and u are potentially subject to a morphophonemic lowering process, they are symbolized as I and U.

The following symbols and abbreviations have been used:

:	length
Ø	null (nothing)
1	first person singular
12	first person plural inclusive
3	third person
/1	first person object
1/2	first person subject, second person object
??	question marker
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
accom	accompaniment
adv	adverbial(izer)
bec	become
ben	benefactive
caus	cause or causative
COM	comitative
cond	conditional
def	definite
desid	desiderative
DIR	direct (information) or direction
fut	future
GEN	genitive
GOAL	goal
IMP	imperative
impfv	imperfective
incep	inceptive
LIM	limitative
LOC	locative
narpst	narrative past
nml	nominalizer
part	participle

pass	passive
past	simple past
perf	perfective
pl	plural
punct	punctual
PUR	purposive
recip	reciprocal
recpst	recent past
refl	reflexive
REP	reportative
SIM	similarity
stat	state
sub	substantivizing subordinator
TOP	topic
YN?	yes/no question marker
SS	same subject
DS	different subject

2. Bruce and Jan Benson, for example, report -skI in the neighboring Marias dialect of Western Huanuco.

3. Peter Landerman, personal communication.

4. Thus, in certain environments: -skI → ska, as in:

aywaskamuy 'to leave completely'

maqaskamasha 'he has hit me'

5. For example: rika-tsi-pa -rka-tsi-r-ni-n-qa
see-caus-ben-up-caus-adv-Ø-3-TOP

'having caused it to be shown'

6. Snow's report is based on the Quechua of the province of Antonio Raimondi in Eastern Ancash, which may be somewhat distinct from the Quechua of the districts of San Luis and Pomabamba, the focus of this paper.

7. According to Longacre (1976:238), aspect is one of those "troublesome and hard to classify features of linguistic structure." It is defined as "features which have to do with the quality of the action indicated in the verb." In Longacre's framework, aspect may be progressive, punctiliar, completive, repetitive, or gnomic, but need not necessarily be restricted to these. Aspect markers, according to Dowty (1979:62) "serve to distinguish such things as whether the beginning, middle or end of an event is being referred to, whether the event is a single one or a repeated one, and whether the event is completed or possibly left incomplete." According to Steele (1980), aspect ascribes a "temporal contour" to tense. "It includes (at least) such notions

as perfective or imperfective and progressive, but is not restricted to these." (1980:21) Culioli (1971) speaks of "open aspect," which presents a process as it takes place, and "closed aspect," which indicates that the end of a process has been reached.

8. Perfective aspect is not to be confused with perfect tense, which is a past situation with present relevance.

9. Some further comments about perfectivity and iconicity are in order here. According to the hypothesis that there is an isomorphic relation between sound and meaning, an "iconic" tendency in language, (see also Haiman 1980:516) the perfective aspect in Quechua should physically reflect the reality of the concept of perfectivity, of viewing the event as a single whole, in some readily discernable way.

-SkI is phonetically tight, brief, and tense; correspondingly, perfective aspect generally indicates telicity, punctuality, and, at times, intensity. The rapidity with which -skI is usually pronounced is perhaps a reason why it is used when the speaker desires to convey a sense of urgency. In the following instance, the speaker explained that he probably wouldn't have used skI in this command if he hadn't wanted his brother to really hurry:

(i) Shukuskiy ras aywaskinaykipaq.

'Get your hat on fast to go.'

If the briefness and tenseness of skI is an iconic reflection of its perfective meaning, a parallel iconicity is to be expected with the imperfective suffix ykaa. This appears to be the case: -ykaa begins with a semi-vowel rather than a sibilant, and ends with a long, open, lax vowel rather than with a short, high, tense vowel.

Jakobson (1971:202) had the following to say regarding aspect in Russian: "Any verb of a semantically nonrestrictive or expansive (ie. imperfective, indeterminate, or iterative) aspect has a longer stem suffix than the correlative verb of the opposite aspect." Jakobson provides the following illustration of such an iconic representation of the perfective-imperfective opposition in Russian:

(iia) zamorozi 'to complete freezing'

(iib) zamoraziva_j 'to freeze' (with or without completion)

Note that, in Conchucos Quechua, the vowel in the suffix -skI which marks perfective aspect, according to the analysis presented here, is also i; and, in parallel fashion, the vowel in the

imperfective -ykaa is a long a, comparable to that in the Russian -iva.

10. The basic corpus of data consisted of all of the sentences with skI from approximately seventy-five pages of transcribed spoken texts recorded in a Quechua-speaking community in Peru.

11. For more about this see David Weber's 1983 UCLA dissertation on Huallaga Quechua, a dialect where -skI does not appear and other affixes assume the perfectivizing function.

12. Bloomfield, for example, remarked that "refined and abstract meanings largely grow out of concrete meanings" (1933:429).

13. Snow (1972), as previously noted, reports similarly for Antonio Raimondi.

14. Conchucos Quechua speakers also maintain that, if you say:

(iiia) upukskiy. 'Drink it up.'

you mean: "Be sure to drink it up." or, "You had better drink it up." If, on the other hand, you say:

(iiib) upukurkuy. 'Drink it up.'

you convey the impression that it's not all that important if you drink it up, although you are encouraged to do so. (Note, with regard to iconicity, that the suffix rkU probably takes a bit longer to pronounce.)

15. A similar observation could be made regarding the punctiliar affix -rI, which apparently takes the place of -skI in Huaraz.

16. For example:

(iv) ushaskIn 'He/she finished it (completely).'

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